DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 459 SO 009 175

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TITLE Affirmative Action Implications for Worldwide Family Systems.
PUB DATE Aug 75
NOTE 38p.; Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems (Montreal, Canada, August 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Family (Sociological Unit); Literature Reviews; Marriage; *Sex Discrimination; *Social Change; Social Problems; Women Professors; *Working Women

ABSTRACT

This paper views the interrelatedness of political, economic, and family systems as they are being affected by the growing awareness of sex discrimination. The reduction in sex inequalities throughout the world, regardless of political or economic orientation, will necessitate a new perception of the woman's role in the family unit. The hypothesis is that contemporary women, with their high levels of education and knowledge, are not well served by the traditional functions of marriage and family. Comparative studies reveal that women in all industrialized societies are moving inexorably toward equality. They will begin to perceive the dysfunctional effects of the nuclear family, particularly patriarchal nuclear family structures, upon themselves and will increasingly shun traditional family sex roles. The effect on family structures will be great, either precipitating a substantially reduced birthrate, increased willingness by men to assume household tasks equally with women, or proliferation of communal households which are well suited to accomplishing such tasks efficiently. (Author)

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# AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IMPLICATIONS FOR WORLDWIDE FAMILY SYSTEMS

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Prepared for presentation to the
Society for the Study of Social Problems
August 1975

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IMPLICATIONS FOR

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Affirmative action is one manifestation of the global drive to reduce sex inequalities which has been precipitated by the women's movement. Although its form differs among countries, in virtually every "developed" society and, to a lesser extent "developing" societies, the women's movement has succeeded in raising the consciousness of women (and sympathetic men) to the inequalities in their share of the rewards. In terms of cross-cultural universals, most countries of the world have signed the International Labor Organization convention guaranteeing equal pay for equal work. (Galenson, 1973:106). The aftermath of the 2nd World War, during which women's participation in the labor force rose dramatically, resulted in such new structures as the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

The 60th Session of the International Labor Conference in 1975 considered a report "Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers" identifying problems and solutions to be discussed during this International Women's Year. (International Labor Conference, 1975).

In the political sphere, in 1948 the Declaration of the Universal Rights of Man (sic) condemned all discrimination based on sex. The proposals of the convention on the Political Rights of Women were adopted in 1952 and member states have every two years reported on progress made in appointing or electing women

to political bodies. A resolution was adopted in 1967 by the U. N. General Assembly on the Elimination of Discriminatory Practices against Women demanding that sexual equality of rights be incorporated into national constitutions, or otherwise guaranteed by law.

Whether capitalist, democratic socialist, communist, or residual monarchy, each country of the world has seen movement toward greater equality for women. In this paper, the ramifications of this phenomenon for family systems will be explored from the perspective of a "new history" based on the experience of women as integral to a comprehensive understanding of the past. (Greene, 1975). This includes a new sociology of the family, which views the isolated nuclear-family characteristic of industrial society as transitional. (Skolnick and Skolnick, 1971).

Impact of family theories on women

Specifically, "herstory" requires evaluation of the functional aspects of marriage and family for women. Godde, for example, postulates the "good fit" between industrialism and the nuclear or conjugal family. (1963). Parsons (1965) has made the family the keystone institution in the arch supporting society. Basic to the functionalists is the theory that the nuclear family is a universal, found in every society as a building block, with extended families comprised of combinations of nuclear families. Similarly, social stratification or inequality is a functional necessity to such theorists, based on task specialization and a sex-typed division of labor which is seen as biologically structured. (Skolnick: 11.) Instead of viewing unusual family

structures as variant family forms, they are rather seen as deviant, dysfunctional, unstable and unworkable. (Marciano, 1975).

The metaphor used by functionalists is that society, like bodily organs, must be maintained in an equilibrium, implying that the decline of the family would threaten the balance of any society, since the nuclear structure is universal.

Conflict theorists, on the other hand, attribute social and economic change to political actions, not functional imperatives. Marx's stress on the class struggle, for example, was based on the concept that inequality could be eliminated by class consciousness which would enable the proletariat gradually to perceive their self-interest and revolt against the bourgeoisie.

While functionalists offer concepts such as role strain, dysfunctionalism, and deviance to deny that homeostasis is a defense of the status quo (because a system in which traditional values are being challenged can still be stable as long as the role strains or dysfunctions do not become dominant), conflict theorists have proved equally unable to explain why women endure subordinate status in every societal structure beyond the tribe.

Margaret Mead described hunting (by males) and gathering (by females) societies as a sex division of labor always eliciting close cooperation between men and women. As men moved out into economic and political roles of building cities, trade and conquests, women became more circumscribed by childbearing which had to be done near home. (1975).

In Marxist theory the liberation of women has remained dependent on the emancipation of the working class. Yet, Engels compared the oppression of women by men to that of the

proletariat by the bourgeoisie, recognizing that many socialist men continued their subordination of women. (Engels, 1960). Those utopian socialists who were able to focus on the problem of women's oppression cautioned that women should not rely on men to free women of their dependence in the family and in society because men were the beneficiaries of this dependence. In A. Bebel's book, Woman in the Past, Present and Future, published in 1885 in London, he commented of men:

> It gratifies their vanity, feeds their pride, and suits their interests to play the part of master and lord, and in this role, they are like all rulers well nigh inaccessible to reason. This makes it all the more imperative on women to exert themselves in bringing about new conditions, which will enable them to free themselves from this degrading position. Women have as little to hope from men as the workmen from the middle classes.

Sufficient time has now elapsed to demonstrate that greater equality for women would not materialize simply from changed social structures, but requires linking the economic class struggle with the feminist struggle.

Few conflict theorists among the feminists have traced the likely effects on society of radical shifts in women's roles in family systems. Blood and Wolfe (1960) have shown certain differences in the division of labor in families where the wife is employed outside the home, but little indication of reversal of sex roles in the family exists. (Poloma and Garland, 1970).

Juliet Mitchell has examined women's role in the family across different economic lines relating to production, reproduction, sexuality and the socialization of children, and warns that new forms of oppression could result from sexual liberalization. (1971). Mitchell concludes that women can only achieve liberation if all four structures into which they

are integrated are transformed. Otherwise, an improvement in one may be offset by the reinforcement of another (e.g. women's work in China has been promoted but a tremendous repression of sexuality and a rigorous puritanism resulted.)

Benston, however, says that the fact that no society has thus far industrialized housework is the reason that the advent of industrialization has so far not freed women. (1969). Equality with men is impossible as long as women are excluded from socially productive work and restricted to housework, which is private.

This paper views the interrelatedness of political, economic and family systems, as they are being effected by the growing awareness of sex discrimination. My hypothesis is that contemporary women, with their high levels of education and knowledge are not well-served by the traditional functions of marriage and family. Given that women in all industrialized societies are moving inexorably toward equality they will begin to perceive the dysfunctional effects of the nuclear family, particularly patriarchal nuclear family structures, upon themselves and will increasingly shun traditional family sex roles. The effect on family structures will be great, either precipitating a substantially reduced birthrate, increased willingness by men to assume household tasks equally with women, or proliferation of communal households which are well suited to accomplishing such tasks efficiently.

Goode argues that what perpetuates the system is men's lack of eagerness to assume women's tasks and the continuing socialization of children into "proper" sex roles, rather

than biological predestination. This is refreshing to the degree that it recognizes that women will have to exercise power to accomplish the sharing of household responsibilities and that the division of labor in family systems is achieved, not ascribed and can be changed.

Explanations for the unequal treatment of women

Throughout known history, women have been posited as inferior to man in major ways. Plato saw them as possessing the qualities of a ruler, differing only in their comparative strength or weakness. He also saw that in order to liberate women for their public duties as guardians, they had to be freed from child care, with nurses and attendants assuming these burdens. (Rouse, 1956). Not yet being freed from these duties, women have yet to assume these roles as guardians, or decision-makers in top political roles.

Aristotle's Politics equated women with children and slaves, holding that by nature the male is superior, the female inferior, therefore the man rules and the woman is ruled.

Durkheim perceived the interests of husband and wife in marriage as unalterably opposed. (1951: 384-5). He feared that reducing the incidence of husbands' suicides from "conjugal anomie" would increase the proportion of wives' suicides, and "as long as the latter require above all, liberty, and the former, discipline, the institution of matrimony cannot be of equal benefit to both." His solution was to make the bonds of marriage more indissoluble, thus inflicting the greater penalty of suicide on women, who needed liberty.

Among more recent sociologists, Goode argued that the conjugal family stands for equality, freedom and individuality;

but he believes the family system now in operation, or likely to emerge in the next generation, will not grant full equality to women without radical reorganization of the social structure. The Skolnicks ask how to preserve those values of the conjugal family in an extended communal, or other type of familial system that does not suffer the excessive strains of the nuclear-isolated family.

Parsons agreed that the most distinctive feature of the American kinship system is the structural isolation of the individual conjugal family. He contrasted this with European forebears "where a much larger and more important element have inherited home, source of economic support, and specific occupational status from their fathers." (Glazer-Malbin; 168). In a rather strained defense of the functionalism of the American kinship system for the emancipation of women, he stated that women have shown emancipation through assimilation to masculine roles, accessibility to occupational opportunity, and in legal rights relative to property holding. This resembles Durkheim's conjecture that because of their inherent simplistic interests women could not ever be expected to fulfill the same functions in society as men, but could become socially equal through increasing sex differentiation and specialization, as in pursuing aesthetic functions as opposed to functions of utility.

Similarly, Parsons saw exceedingly important positive functional significance in the current role assignments of the conjugal family, although they happen to confer upon men as the breadwinner of the family the most important occupational status and upon the women as housekeepers a status and remuneration

which does not begin to compete with that accorded men. To Parsons, this pattern is essential to our occupational system and helps preserve the solidarity of marriage by eliminating the competition for status which would arise if the number of status-giving occupational roles in the family were not confined to one. The rising divorce rate tends to confirm this strain on the traditional marraige, but what price must women pay for stability?

The traditional function of family as an exchange of women's sexual favors for economic support has been severely undercut by birth control measures and the woman's ability to be financially independent. It is no longer functional for the middle-class nuclear family to have the wife at home and out of the labor force, in light of the prohibitive costs of education for the young and a consumer-oriented society. It has become "functional" for the wife to work, to have fewer children which means fewer years required for child-rearing. Perhaps Marx was right when he declared that machinery depreciates man's (sic) labor power. "In order that the family may live, four people must now, not only labor, but expend surplus labor for the capitalist." (1906).

Applying "herstory" to that theme, Sullerot (1971) argued that there was a differential impact on women by the particular economic system:

> ...the distance dividing men from women is much less in a collectivist system than under capitalism. In all capitalist economies, there is a difference in power, wages, incomes, civic responsibilities, to the disadvantage of women, who are turned into a female Lumpenproletariat occupying the lowest rung of the social ladder.

Patriarchal and barbaric systems (pre-Christian) extended comparable economic roles to both sexes. With the transition from collectivist medieval society to the proto-capitalist economy of the Renaissance period with its stress on individual initiative, women lost ground. In the 12th century, for example, women's wages were 80% of men's in agriculture. By the 16th century, after steady decline, women who did the same work as men received only 40% of their wages.

Industrialization, bureaucratization and urbanization, regardless of economic or political system in fact depreciated the value of women's labor. Emphasis on a service, rather than production economy has created greater dependence on low-skilled marginal wage clerical workers, largely women. Housework and volunteer work, two primary non-market economic activities contributed to the profitability of the political economy. (Sassen-Koob, 1973). Discrimination, cultural prescriptions and lack of child care centers make the labor market quite unattractive for many women. "A large amount of socially necessary labor has to be done, has been defined as women's responsibility and hence is a drawback for women to enter the labor force or limits them to part-time or temporary employment." (Sassen-Koob).

Keeping women in the home at the point when work became essentially divorced from the home,has had an interesting unanticipated effect. With the advent of technology and vastly expanded productivity, it has become uneconomic to keep women at home: their domestic productivity keeps shrinking. With a surfeit of labor-saving devices, the production of which creates employment for their mates, women are free to become consumers

or to leave the home to work and again become economically productive. Remaining outside the labor force, however, contributes considerably to the continuity of the nuclear family and the relationships of production it upholds, reinforcing existing cultural prescriptions.

While, in the short run, maintaining wage disparities bet men and women appears to be profitable to the economy (investo primarily) in the long run the depressant on wages contributed by lower-paid women also depresses men's wages for the same wo (Szymanski, 1974). Therefore, for most men, particularly for majority of men, who are not concentrated in the highest paid positions, reducing inequality for women is in their own best interest.

Cross-cultural comparisons

In agrarian China, industrial South America and post-indu United States and Europe, women have been submissive. When it was "functional" for women to remain at home during the rise o industrialism, they acceded. When wartime production needs placed a premium on their labor outside the home, they poured out compliantly. Immediately after their services became too competitive with returning veterans, they meekly retired to th kitchen and hearth (and if not meekly, they were forced to re or risk being slapped with Freudian accusations). They serve a reserve labor force for future expansion of production and services, primarily in the production of the labor force rath than goods, and in the service sector where men would not accept the low-paying jobs available. (Aronowitz, 1973).

In those countries where the war toll of young men skewed all possibilities of maintaining the occupational stratification of the past, women were welcomed into many professions new to them. Yet, at each stage of this process of responding to societal imperatives, economic or political, they bore the brunt of child-rearing and responsibility for the home. Even in Russia, where 75% of the doctors are women, they are still responsible for the home and the care of children. "Housekeeping involves long hours of marketing... Many appliances are still in short supply. Household services are inadequate. The provision of day care does not meet the demand." (Galenson: 81).

Recent Soviet and Cuban women visitors to the United Nations in celebration of International Women's Year extolled the virtues of their respective political systems and blamed the U. S. military-industrial complex for lack of progress toward peace and disarmament, in tones reminiscent of the cold war of the 1950's. Yet, when pressed about the extent of household sharing, both official representatives expressed deep regret that women in their respective countries bore the greater burden for home responsibilities regardless of employment status. The Cuban woman hoped this would change as more women entered the labor force since their participation has more than doubled since the Revolution (from 10% in 1958 to 25% in 1975). But increased options for working women has not broken down sex-typed household chores in Russia, although the Soviet visitor did state that it is cause for divorce if a women who is earning the same or even more than her husband does not receive cooperation from her husband in household tasks. (Bingham, 1975).

Simone de Beauvoir, in a dialogue with Betty Freidan insisted that housework is a key aspect of exploitation of women by men and should not be individually remunerated but rather collectively performed:

> No woman should be authorized to stay at home to raise her children...Women should not have that choice... because...too many women will make that one...We see it as part of a global reform of society which would not accept that old segregation between men and woman, the home and the outside world. We think that every individual woman as well as man, should work outside and have the possibility, either by communal living, collectives, or another way of organizing the family, of solving the problem of child care. (Saturday Review, 1975).

De Beauvoir was responding to Freidan's suggestion of a minimum wage value for housework which could be recognized for social security, pensions and in the division of property if there is a divorce. De Beauvoir was more determined to destroy the myth of the family and the myth of maternity and the maternal instinct as necessary to end oppression. Both women agreed, each out of her matching ideological existential perspective that choice without conditioning toward motherhood from earliest childhood was the important goal.

Even in as traditional countries as Saudi Arabia, the government's efforts to modernize swiftly and develop the structure of society is enlarging the role of women because of the critical shortage of manpower (Topping, 1975). Only recently were schools for women considered acceptable under the Moslem fundamentalist religion.

If reducing the channelling of women into sextyped professions and occupations and increasing their economic independence have not in the past been sufficient to achieve equality, why should affirmative action in this country, and its counterpart

of laws against discrimination on the basis of sex in other nations, now be successful?

Obviously, there is no assurance. The remainder of this paper will explore the conceptual linkages which provide a foundation for "middle-range" theories to guide empirical research in the field of sex discrimination. Affirmative action is defined for this purpose as "social policy geared to reducing sex discrimination and increasing awareness of systemic barriers which prevent equality." It is necessary to link theory to research and social action, as Lipman-Blumen explained:

> Research and action are not antithetical processes. In fact, there is an important dialectic between them. Intelligent social action and policy formulation should be based upon clear research findings, and research should be motivated and sparked by the issues and experience from the world of action. The complex problems that we face today demand that we move quickly to establish a meaningful dialogue among researchers, social policy formulators and implementers. (1974).

Feminists such as Kate Millett have noted that sexual equality would require a "truly radical social transformation--the alteration of marriage and the family as they had been known throughout history." (1970). She traced the changes in the family system in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia to indicate that merely declaring the family defunct (Russia) without a suitable institutional replacement or demanding utter dedication to motherhood and family (Germany) merely leads to further exploitation of women:

> Soviet leadership had declared the family defunct in a society composed entirely of family members, whose entire psychic processes were formed in the patriarchal family of Tsarist Russia. Women in such a society were loath to relinquish the dependency and security of the family and the domination over children which it accorded them; men were just as reluctant to waive their traditional prerogatives and privileges; everyone talked endlessly about sexual equality, but none, or few, were capable of practicing it.

Even the Chinese revolution, perhaps the most dramatically changed society yet known, found women working in the cooperative all day but still doing all the housework and looking after the children. The development of the communes and payment for labor within the commune established economic independence for women. The social organization of the commune made it possible to recognize the situation of women, as women. Women organized among themselves, combining households in order to care for their children. Women are still underrepresented at the center of power, although a few have emerged in positions of greater significance. (Rowbotham, 1972).

The Cuban Revolution has proved equally unable to abolish sexual oppression. "The traditional family acts as a socializing agency and carries the values of the pre-revolutionary society, not so much by what is explicitly said, but by what is implicitly practiced." (Rowbotham: 229). The Cubans are trying to socialize the household tasks, not in order to create new family forms, but to increase production. Woman's labor is needed in production, therefore various measures are offered to encourage their work. Part-time work, six weeks paid leave both before and after delivery, free nursery facilities from infancy to school age, in housing communities, factories and work camps, are added to food, medical and dental care provided for children. But women are still responsible for the housework.

To the modern industrial system is attributed the interwoven pattern of family structure, division of labor, occupational prestige and differentiated rewards. Comparative analysis of occupational prestige in six industrialized countries (U.S.,

Great Britain, Soviet Union, Japan, New Zealand and Germany) has shown remarkable similarities. (Inkeles and Rossi, 1956). The authors concluded "there is a relatively invariable hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system, even when it is placed in the context of larger social systems which are otherwise differentiated in important respects." The functionalists point to the similarity of occupational prestige hierarchies in Western and non-Western countries as evidence that the allocation of resources and personnel in modern industrial nations in sufficient numbers and sufficient quality were crucial prerequisites for the industrial development of those nations. Given the fact that female-dominated occupations (nursing, librarians, and social workers, for example) rank at the bottom of income or prestige hierarchies the consequences of the stratification system have been disastrous for women worldwide. What are the prospects for change, using the United States as a case of the most highly developed industrial system and affirmative action as probably the most complex attempt to eliminate past discrimination and live up to the universalistic norms of achievement presumed to exist in modern, industrial bureaucracies?

To meet expected shortages in technical, science and engineering occupations, women are going to be desirable for the next decade at least. Affirmative action is creating greater incentives to young women to enter such previously all-male fields. Entering with the protection of equal pay laws will also insure that women do not depress the labor market by accepting lower entry wages.

Estimates are for 562 million women among the world's

labor force by 1975, or 34% of the population. In the age span 20-44 years there is little difference between the more developed and less developed regions of the world - about 60% of the women are in the labor force. However, in the age group 45 and over, there is a difference - 34% in the more developed, 22% in the less developed. These differences will tend to fade with time, closing the gap between developed and under-developed countries, it is presumed.

Projections for the year 2000 by the International Labor Organization are for an increase in the female labor force in the more developed regions - some 187 million in 1970 to 254 million by the year 2000. In general, over the 30-year period 1970-2000, the female labor force is expected to show a higher rate of increase than the male labor force in Europe, Northern America, Temperate South America and Australia and New Zealand, and about the same rate of growth as the male labor force in Japan, East Asia and the less developed areas of Latin America and Oceania. In the USSR the male labor force will increase much faster than the female. In Africa the male labor force will increase only slightly faster.

In what occupations are women located worldwide? With some exceptions (e.g. in Asia), women form a large part of the total labor force in the professional and technical category, outnumbering men in some cases (largely because of the predominance of women in educational and health services). They comprise only a small proportion of administrative, executive and managerial workers. On the other hand, they make up a large part of the clerical workforce in many countries, particularly in the more developed ones, and form a high

proportion of the sales force in some countries. Women are only thinly represented in the ranks of craftsmen, production workers and laborers in the vast majority of countries.

What emerges fairly clearly is that, in general, the occupations in which most women workers are concentrated are not the same as those in which most men are employed. There is, however, some evidence of a trend in many countries for women to break out of traditional occupational patterns and to move into new areas.

The implications of this worldwide trend to higher participation in the labor force which is largely the result of higher levels of education, is that the pre-conditions necessary for women to perceive their self-interest and revolt now exist. Protection of the laws is beginning to raise their consciousness to press for more equal psychic and material rewards. Feminist leaders are the intellectual cadre heralding the dawn of equal rights. But inherent role strains threaten to prevent the attainment of these goals. Within the individual woman, double messages are received. Parents may remind a daughter to study hard, make good grades, prepare herself for a career; at the same time, they may anxiously inquire whether she has met "any nice young men" clearly implying they envision her only career as wife and mother. (Komarovsky, 1946).

The Professional Woman in Academe

Just as cultural contradictions create conflict within the individual, social policies such as affirmative action set up conflicting societal norms. Expansion of equal rights laws to educational institutions are still based on pro-natalist policies, including maternity leave, child care, stretchout to tenure (to

permit women to raise young children while still producing evidence of scholarship). The young scholar in academe, for example is encouraged to combine having babies with pursuing a career at full tilt. Little is she aware of the inherent disadvantages that accrue to her professional life by accepting the role definition of "parent" along with "professor."

To illustrate the severe effects on professional women of attempting to combine home and career, the Astin and Bayer study of predictor variables affecting rank, tenure and salary among a sample of approximately 3,500 men and 3,500 women full-time faculty revealed that single faculty were slightly more likely than married or widowed faculty to attain high ranks (the authors believed this finding reflected the differences between single and married women, since the career profiles of single women doctorates are more like those of men than those of married women doctorates). In contrast, those with large families were more likely to attain high ranks -- and to have been men. The authors could account for only 60% of the variance in academic rank, associated with length of time at the institution, number of publications, degree and other so-called "merit" factors, and attributed the remainder of the difference between the sexes to the gender factor. This study was replicated with a sample of 5000 random respondents of faculty men and women in 1972-73. Slight gains in salary differentials were found, particularly among new recruits. Substantial differences persist in salary despite statistically identical attainments. (Bayer and Astin, 1975).

Professional women were at a status disadvantage also in that fewer academic women marry, and if they do, they have few or no children. When academic women are married and have large families, however, their salaries still do not equal those of married academic men with similar sized families.

For women, advancement to higher ranks improves if they are single, or divorced whereas advancement for men is more likely if they have children. If women have children, the fewer the better, for advancement up the ranks.

In the attainment of tenure, the same phenomenon holds true. Men have an edge in the attainment of tenure if they have children, but the same characteristic penalizes women. (Astin and Bayer, 1972).

Foregoing marriage and childbearing are posited as the necessary "opportunity costs" for women's academic success by Faia (1974). For men, there is a tendency toward higher marriage rates and increased number of children for those with advanced degrees, an inverse proportion to the pattern for women. Faia believes that affirmative action has had an insignificant impact but that the women's movement is heightening awareness that "the exchange rules by which female academicians comply are not universal rules binding on everyone; that, in fact, they are imposed by those in positions of power who, through the power they wield both in the educational realm and in the realm of family life (my emphasis), are themselves able to evade the rules." (1974)

The author's study of academic women's attitudes toward sex discrimination, however, did not reveal any conscious choice

of "opportunity costs" with most women minimizing any conflicts between home and career and denying awareness of sex discrimination. (Liss, 1975). As the facts emerge, however, to dispel the pluralistic ignorance which beclouds the penalties paid by women professionals combining home and career, it is predicted that more professional women will join their younger colleagues in eschewing these unjust costs, by rejecting marriage and child-rearing.

The courts may yet exacerbate this massive injustice by ordering further pro-natalist policies to overcome the past adverse effects upon women of family-blind criteria for employment. Just as they have ordered "restoring workers to their rightful place" based on where the worker would have been had discrimination not been perpetrated, so the courts might order relief in the form of expanded child care, paid parental leaves, back pay for maternity benefits previously denied, reinstatement to the status (rank) and rewards the individual would have enjoyed instead of the opportunity costs incurred unknowingly. But unless the family system is addressed, further acceleration of women entering the workforce and attaining equal professional status with men commensurate with their true abilities will merely serve to expand the number of "superwomen."

These studies are particularly astonishing when viewed as conditions affecting women in the most affluent, economically independent and prestigious occupational stratum. Yet, of the total of working women, only 0.5% are college and university teachers. How much more pronounced are the effects on working class women:

1. Of all women employed in 1973, one-third were clerical workers; 17% service workers; 15% professional and technical (including teachers) and 14% factory workers. Only 5% are managers and administrators. (The remainder are in sales, crafts, farm and non-farm labor).

2. The earnings gap between men and women has increased in recent years, largely because they are increasingly relegated to low-level work.

3. Women's underutilization is rising in relation to their increased level of education.

4. Increasing numbers of working mothers have young children: 1/3 of mothers with children under 6 are employed; 1/2 of mothers with children 6-18 are working. For blacks the situation is worse:

5. Black mothers of young children are working in higher proportions: 1/2 of black working mothers have children under 5; 1/3 of white mothers are in that position.

6. While 63% of white women employed are in white collar jobs only 42% of black women are beyond service and blue-collar work. Among women workers, 11% of blacks and 16% of whites were professionals, mostly nurses and non-college teachers. (Above from Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the U.S. 1973).

Black women single heads of households may be the wave of the future, having avoided the stage of nuclear family glorification because of abiding antipathy to structures which reduced black men to childishness as it did women. (Bernard, 1972). Clearly women in low-status jobs receive less cooperation

at home than professional women elicit through husband-sharing roles for paid help.

While the picture of work for most women in the U.S. is similar in most industrialized countries, despite the high levels of education, it stands in marked contrast to the status of women worldwide. The recent IWY conference (Mexico City, 1975) called attention, though briefly, to the lot of the bulk of the world's female population. Over one-half of the world's two billion women live in poverty and ignorance. About 500 million women are illiterate. Discounting females under 15 years of age, roughly one out of three adult women cannot read or write. Poor health, malnutrition, heavy workloads and constant pregnancies result in their physical exhaustion and lack of interest in improving their basic skills. (Sterba, 1975). Male reporters continue to note the enormous gap between such poor women and the "rich" women of the U.S. But when viewed from the perspective that at both ends of the spectrum, and at every point in between, women carry the heavier burden, it is remarkable that education has effected so little change in statuses of women proportionate to men.

Future Directions

Applying theory from an "herstorical" perspective to the data gathered among a cross-section of races, political systems and stratification systems, the following basic questions emerge:

1. Is the nuclear family still the most functional arrangement in which men and women can produce, reproduce, engage in sexual relations and socialize future generations, as well as resocialize their own generation to adjust to social change?

2. If the nuclear family is still the most viable child-rearing mechanism, particularly for women in "developed" societies, how can the strains be reduced?

3. If it is not, how can transitional alternatives be accelerated? (China and Cuba are now operating in this direction.)

4. In which direction is Affirmative Action and its counterpart worldwide moving societies?

In order to answer these questions, the following factors were identified as simultaneously pushing toward and away from nuclear family structures with traditional sex roles:

1. Recession/unemployment: reinforces the notion of man as provider, but is indicating that many families are depending on women as earners.

2. Romantic notions of love and companionship contrast with notions, such as that posed by Maria Barreños, that love is too ephemeral to attempt to institutionalize. (Three Marias, 1975).

3. Growing costs of education for children means greater responsibility on family, and greater push toward women working to earn tuition costs in capitalist countries. In socialist countries, high taxes ease the direct burden on family but place a burden on families to meet taxes.

4. Lowered birth rate (i.e., number of children per woman of childbearing age) both reduces the need to work to provide benefits for children, but provides time free from home and childrearing responsibilities.

5. Marriages still predominate as the family form: 2,277,000 couples were married in the U.S. in 1973, but increasingly they are "partnerships" with only 39% sharing "macho" attitudes, such

as "it is important for the husband to be the main provider and the main decision-maker" and that "women should not work unless it is absolutely necessary." (McCormack, 1975).

6. Increase in proportion of women remaining single: among black women under 35 years of age, the number of singles increased from 41% in 1960 to 54% in 1973; among professional white women one-third to one-half remain single.

7. In Britain, even though more women are in the labor force than in the U.S. (42% in 1971), they appear to settle for their lot in life, since 61% state they are "very satisfied" compared to 47% of the men. (Social Trends, 1974).

8. Thousands of women are withdrawing from the labor force, unable to get jobs. One economist cited the high proportion of women and teenagers among those dropping out of the labor force and among the unemployed still seeking work as evidence that the scope of unemployment is hardly a national disaster. (Cox, 1975).

9. Feminists, such as Freidan, cited the peril to the women's movement posed by the deepening recession. But many feminist organizations were relying on the force of law and heightened awareness of the threat to recent gains to overcome any attempts to submerge the status of women once again. (Brozan, 1975).

10. The year-old Coalition of Labor Union Women has 2800 members promoting the solution of more public service and public works projects at which women must get a fair chance until the economy turns around. Internationally, women are unionizing increasingly and unions are calling for greater equality in education, vocational training, and employment as well as decision-

making within the unions.

11. The effects of technological change and scientific advance on women have contributed to a wider occupational choice for them, but also contain the risk that unless women are brought more directly into the requirements of a technological and scientific era they will be even further behind. (ILO, 1974).

In fact, the economic crunch is producing unexpected consequences that may reinforce the likelihood that women will be a permanent part of the workforce. In many families it is the wife whose job has been retained, while the husband collects unemployment--and a higher amount than would be the case were the roles reversed. The accelerating rate of divorce has thrust women into the labor force. Women leaders foresee that a good proportion of them will band together to form their own business, child care centers and cooperatives. This would reduce their haste to remarry seeking economic security and psychological supports.

Another latent consequence to economic pressures has been the emergence of alternatives to layoffs, including part-time and shared jobs, shortened work weeks, shift changes, and payless work-days. Flexitime (flexible work schedules) represents significant change from wholesale firing of women. These creative solutions exemplify the fact that the feminist struggle is not to end the exploitation of women merely by exposing them to the same values of competitition, aggressiveness and individualism long equated with successful men. Instead, these forms of cooperation are demonstrating that an unoppressive, non-exploitative society produces more satisfying work.

The crucial test of whether women will rebound to an

improved occupational status with the upturn in the economy imminently expected, will depend on the extent of the enforcement of affirmative action and equal employment opportunity laws. Currently the struggle between seniority and affirmative action is creating conflict, with the courts determining where equity lies.

In sum, the confluence of several factors affecting world family systems appears to be driving toward greater institutionalization of equality for women--in employment, in social status and in their status within the family, as well as outside traditional family styles. As a result of affirmative action programs as one structural factor, the following outcomes are likely in developed countries:

1. The breaking down of the adverse effects of anti-nepotism policies which kept well-educated women from suitable employment in their husbands' firms or institutions;

2. The continuing increase in labor force participation by women at various stages of their life cycle, before marriage, in place of marriage, and after children have departed for college;

3. The proliferation of women into more highly specialized occupations increases Durkheim's "organic solidarity", creating greater social cohesiveness based on interdependence of specialized functions. There are increasing manifestations of women's collective consciousness and participation in organized pressure groups, such as women's caucuses, centers and unions;

4. The erosion in division of labor by sex under the influence of equal opportunity laws is affecting the shared-role model of marriage predicted by Bernard. Sweden already has an official policy of shared roles to encourage men to have more

contact with their children, and trade unions and management organizations have planned shared child care for the near future;

5. The pro-natalist policies, such as maternity leave to be treated in the same way as medical leave for men, and child-rearing leave for either parent reinforce the stress to combine home and career. As more information is disseminated about the double burden placed on women, they can be expected to demand compensatory treatment for the years spent away from their careers, in much the same way that veterans receive long-term benefits for similar sacrifices.

6. Increasingly, as the statistics become disseminated among well-educated women, they will choose to forego the superwoman role of combining career with full-time childrearing. This pattern will no longer carry the stigma of the "old maid" syndrome but will represent another choice among acceptable alternative life styles. Without the pressure on all women to serve society as "baby machines" more incentives will be required to lure those foregoing and postponing childbearing to perform this role;

7. Along with a decline in child-bearing as a major function of a woman's life will come a reassessment of marriage already heralded by the proliferation of personal marriage contracts which permit renegotiation of the terms if the marriage bestows unequal benefits. If marriage continues to have an adverse effect upon women and the courts award alimony to equalize the partners' net income, the rate of new marriages will probably decline; (Ross, 1973)

8. The emergence of a modern Lysistrata, who will withhold not her sexuality (for that she enjoys more than ever before) but her reproductive capability. Once sizeable numbers of educated women demand dual rewards for their dual contributions to society this redefinition of equal pay for equal work may well result in high status, prestige and privilege for women.

By the time of the tenth IWY Conference women may predominate as leaders in their own right, free of the wedges driven between them by their ruler husbands' political difference. Then, educated and liberated women may assert their own values. Aware of the plight of their sex worldwide and committed to social action to attain an equalitarian society, a new herstory may be written.

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Table 4

Academic Rank Distribution by Sex and Total Faculty, National Sample, 1969 (In percentages)

| Rank | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professor | 24.5 | 9.4 | 21.6 |
| Associate Professor | 21.9 | 15.7 | 20.7 |
| Assistant Professor | 28.2 | 28.7 | 28.3 |
| Instructor | 16.3 | 34.8 | 19.9 |

Source: Bayer 1970:13 (Rossi, 208).

Table 5

Women as a Percentage of Faculty Members in Four-Year Colleges and Universities

| | 1959-60 | 1965-66 | 1971-72 |
|---|---|---|---|
| All ranks | 19.1 | 18.4 | 19.0 |
| Professor | 9.9 | 8.7 | 8.6 |
| Associate Professor | 17.5 | 15.1 | 14.6 |
| Assistant Professor | 21.7 | 19.4 | 20.7 |
| Instructor | 29.3 | 32.5 | 39.4 |

Source: National Education Association (1972, p. 13), The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 111.